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SIX STATESMEN OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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**SYLLABUS OF A
COURSE OF SIX
LECTURE-STUDIES**

**BY GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD, PH.D.,
PROFESSORIAL LECTURER IN HISTORY**

CHICAGO
The University of Chicago Press
1903

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EXERCISES

Topics for exercises are given at the end of the outline of each lecture. Answers in writing, to not more than two questions each week, are invited from all persons attending the lecture. These should be written on one side of the paper only, a broad margin being reserved on the left. The name of the center, with some signature of the writer, should stand at the top of the first page. The exercises should be sent to GEORGE E. HOWARD, PH. D., The University of Chicago, Chicago so as to arrive at least two days before the following lecture. They will be returned at the REVIEW, the following week, with such marginal and oral comments as they seem to require. If application is made to the lecturer, there will be an EXAMINATION at the end of the course for students who are qualified and desire to take it.

Any of the books referred to in these lectures may be obtained at special rates from THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS, Chicago, Ill. Prices will be quoted on application.

Readings in connection with each lecture are designated in the syllabus. The syllabus is provided with a perforated leaf which each student desiring University credit or recognition in any form should fill out immediately after the opening of the course, and mail to the SECRETARY OF THE LECTURE-STUDY DEPARTMENT, UNIVERSITY EXTENSION DIVISION, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

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3. A minimum of one year's residence is required of an applicant for a degree. Non-resident work is accepted for only one-third of the work required for a degree.

ASSIGNED READINGS.

LECTURE I.

- J. R. SEELEY, *The Expansion of England* (London, 1883), chaps. iv, vi.
E. G. SCOTT, *The Development of Civil Liberty in the English Colonies*
(New York, 1882), chap. viii.

LECTURE II.

- MOSES COIT TYLER, *Patrick Henry* (Boston, 1887), 1-188.
A. B. HART, *Contemporaries* (New York and London, 1898), II, 103-6.

LECTURE III.

- A. B. HART, *Formation of the Union* (4th ed., New York and London,
1894), 37-68.
RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, *Rise of the Republic* (Boston, 1872), 200-402,

LECTURE IV.

- MOSES COIT TYLER, *Literary History of the American Revolution* (New
York and London, 1897), I, 293-400.
C. H. VAN TYNE, *The Loyalists in the American Revolution* (New York
and London, 1902), 1-86.

LECTURE V.

- DAVIS R. DEWEY, *Financial History of the United States* (New York,
London, and Bombay, 1903), 1-59.
G. W. GREEN, *Historical View of the American Revolution* (Boston,
1865), chap. v.

LECTURE VI.

- J. T. MORSE, *Franklin* (Boston, 1889).
G. W. GREEN, *Historical View*, chap. vi.

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LECTURE I.

JAMES OTIS AND THE FIRST PROTEST OF MASSACHUSETTS.

- I. **Characteristics of James Otis (1725-83).**
- II. **Why the Americans Protested; Origin of the Revolution.**
 1. Original isolation of the colonies; slow growth of the sentiment of union.
 2. Principal result of the French and Indian War: genesis of national self-consciousness.
 3. Primary cause of the American Revolution: the restrictive colonial system.
 - a) Character of the acts of 1660, 1663, 1672; of the acts restraining manufactures.
 - b) So-called "compensations" which led the colonists to accept the restrictive system.
 - c) Why, then, is that system the original cause of the Revolution?
 4. The "Molasses Act" of 1733; what its enforcement would mean to the colonies.
- III. **The Writs of Assistance.**
 1. Origin of these writs; their survival in England; similarity in character to the "general warrants" of the Wilkes case.
 2. First use in the colonies, 1755; supposed special need of them during the French and Indian War.
 3. Otis's speech against the renewal of the writs, 1761: the "prologue" of the revolutionary drama.
 - a) The occasion.
 - b) The technical argument.
 - c) Untrustworthiness of John Adams's account of the alleged general argument (see his letters to William Tudor in his *Works*, X).
 4. Real significance of Otis's speech.
- IV. **Otis the First Revolutionary Leader of Massachusetts.**
 1. The case of alleged misappropriation of forfeitures for violations of the Molasses Act, 1761. Otis attacks the court of admiralty.

2. Governor Bernard's alleged illegal expedition, 1762; Otis's *Vindication of the Conduct of the House of Representatives* (Boston, 1762).
3. The first revenue act, 1764; Otis's *Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved* (Boston, 1764).
4. The menace of the Stamp Act, 1764-65.
 - a) Otis's pamphlets in reply to Martin Howard.
 - b) His reply to Soame Jenyns.
5. Later public services of Otis. Estimate of his place in the Revolution.

STUDIES.

1. Historical importance of the "Molasses Act," 1733.
2. Were the laws restraining manufactures in the colonies oppressive?
3. The bounty system.
4. Summary of Judge Horace Gray's paper on the Writs of Assistance.
5. Comparison of English and American claims as to the restrictive system.

REFERENCES.

Tudor, *Life of Otis* (Boston, 1823); Minot, *History of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1798-1803), II, 87-99; John Adams, *Works*, II, 521-25; X, index; Horace Gray, "Writs of Assistance," in Quincy's *Massachusetts Reports*, 395-540; Tyler, *Literary History of the American Revolution*, I, 30-90; Weeden, *Economic and Social History of New England*, II, 666 ff., 714 ff.; Chamberlain, "The Revolution Impending," in Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History*, VI, 1-24; Frothingham, *Rise of the Republic*, 72-157; Bancroft, *United States* (ed. 1883), II, 546 ff.; Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts*, III, 89 ff.; Lecky, *England in the Eighteenth Century*, III, 321-34; Hart, *Formation of the Union*, 43-48; *idem*, *Contemporaries*, II, 374-78; Seeley, *Expansion of England*; Channing, *The Navigation Laws* (Worcester, 1890); Scott, *Development of Civil Liberty*, chap. viii; Beer, "Colonial Policy of England toward the American Colonies," *Columbia College Studies*, III (New York, 1893); Lord, "Industrial Experiments in the British Colonies," *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, extra Vol. XVII (Baltimore, 1898); Ashley, "England and America, 1660-1760," in his *Surveys Historic and Economic* (London, New York, and Bombay, 1900), 309-60; Hill, "Colonial Tariffs," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, VII, 73 ff. For a contemporary defense of British colonial policy see Grenville, *The Regulations Lately Made Concerning the Colonies* (London, 1765); and compare Knox, *The Controversy between Great Britain and Her Colonies* (London, 1769).

LECTURE II.

PATRICK HENRY AND THE FIRST PROTEST OF VIRGINIA.

I. *Two False Theories of the Origin of the American Revolution.*

1. That it was the result of the intended or conscious oppression of the colonies.
2. That it was aroused by hot-headed demagogues.
3. Must the "great man" explanation of historical progress be abandoned? Value of the biographical element.

II. *The Royal Prerogative and the Revolution.*

1. Quarrels with the governors.
2. Independence of the courts threatened; in October, 1761, Benjamin Pratt appointed chief-justice of New York "during the king's pleasure."
3. Abuse of legislative prerogative.
 - a) After the reign of Anne no act of Parliament vetoed by the crown; but this branch of the prerogative steadily maintained in the royal provinces.
 - b) The Virginia Act of 1761 imposing a prohibitory duty on the importations of slaves disallowed.

III. *Patrick Henry's Protest against the King's Legislative Prerogative in the "Parson's Cause," 1763.*

1. Origin of the cause.
 - a) Laws of 1696 and 1748 fixing the parson's salary at 16,000 of tobacco. Tobacco as a legal tender.
2. The "Two-Penny" Act of 1755. Financial distress caused by the war times.
3. The "Two-Penny" Act of 1758: like that of 1755, it was passed without the "suspending clause." The prerogative strained in denying the petition of 1751.
 - a) Debts made payable either in kind or in paper money at the option of the payer; alleged hardships to the clergy.
 - b) Resistance of the clergy; pamphlet war; letter to the bishop of London; appeals to the board of trade placed before the privy council. The act disallowed, August 10, 1759; and Governor Fauquier ordered to publish the fact by proclamation.

- c) Rev. John Camm's suit against the vestry of York Hampton parish; the assembly allows the expenses of appeals; 1764 Virginia law held valid by the general court; appeal to privy council, and the case dismissed, 1767.
- d) Other suits in the lower courts; that of Rev. James Maury, of Fredericksville parish, Louisa, November 5, 1763: county court of Hanover declares the act of 1758 void; and orders that at next term a special jury shall determine the damage due Maury. Patrick Henry called in to defend the parish.
- 4. Characteristics of Patrick Henry.
 - a) His parentage and education.
 - b) His business experiences, 1751-60.
 - c) Admission to the bar, 1760; his remarkable success during the first three years and a half of practice.
- 5. December 1, 1763: Henry's speech in the Parson's Cause.
 - a) Character of his eloquence.
 - b) Points of the argument.
 - c) The verdict.
 - d) Revolutionary significance of the speech.

IV. The Later Career of Patrick Henry.

- 1. The resolves against the Stamp Act, May 29, 1765; Henry's speech.
- 2. In the first Continental Congress, 1774.
- 3. His resolves and great speech in the second revolutionary convention of Virginia, March, 1775.
- 4. Why he opposed the ratification of the Federal Constitution
- 5. Estimate of his place in American history.

STUDIES.

- 1. History of tobacco as a currency in Virginia.
- 2. Patrick Henry and the Federal Constitution.
- 3. Influence of Patrick Henry's resolves against the Stamp Act.
- 4. Abuse of the royal prerogative as a cause of the Revolution.

REFERENCES.

Ann Maury, *Memoirs of a Huguenot Family* (New York, 1872), 402, 418-24 (James Maury on Parson's Cause); or the same in Hart, *Contemporaries*, II,

103-6; Perry, *Historical Collections*, I, *passim*; Meade, *Old Churches*, I, 216 ff.; Burnaby, *Travels* (2d ed., London, 1759); Jefferson, "Memorandum," *Historical Magazine* (1867), N. S., II, 93; Henning, *Statutes*, III, 152; VI, 88, 89, 568; VII, 240, 241; Campbell, *History of Virginia* (Philadelphia, 1860), 514, 515; Wirt, *Patrick Henry* (Philadelphia, 1818); Tyler, *Patrick Henry* (Boston, 1887); W. W. Henry, *Patrick Henry* (3 vols., New York, 1891); Bancroft, *United States*, III, 110 ff., 134 ff.; Frothingham, *Rise of the Republic*, 178 ff.; Grahame, *United States*, IV, 206 ff.; Gordon, *United States* (London, 1788), I, 164 ff.

LECTURE III.

SAMUEL ADAMS AND THE ORGANIZATION OF PUBLIC OPINION.

I. Characteristics of Samuel Adams.

1. Birth and education.
2. The "man of the town-meeting;" place of the town-meeting in New England and American history.
3. The "penman" of the Revolution; his style of writing and speaking.
4. The organizer of resistance.
5. General character of the revolutionary literature; newspapers and pamphlets; poems; state papers; public papers drafted by Samuel Adams.

II. The Grenville Acts and the Birth of Revolutionary Parties.

1. Whigs and Tories, 1763-65 (Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts*, III, 103; Grahame, *op. cit.*, IV, 210).
2. "Sons of Liberty," 1765; methods and influence; supposed origin of the name in Barré's speech.
3. Non-importation agreements.
4. First intercolonial Committees of Correspondence, the result of Adams's "initial state paper" of the American Revolution, May 24, 1764.
5. Address to the governor and the resolutions of the assembly against the Stamp Act drafted by Adams, October, 1765.

III. Public Opinion Advanced and the Sentiment of Union Further Developed by the Townshend Revenue Acts, 1767-70.

1. The circular letter of Massachusetts.
 - a) Royal order to rescind the resolution authorizing it.
 - b) Other assemblies ordered by the king to disregard it.

- c) Massachusetts leaders to be carried to England for trial.
- d) Virginia's protest.
- 2. Repeal of the revenue acts, except the tax on tea, April 12, 1770.
- IV. **The Royal Instructions and Committees of Correspondence, 1770-73.**
 - 1. Character of the instructions.
 - 2. Methods of resistance.
 - 3. The Boston "massacre," March 5, 1770. Removal of the troops.
 - 4. The "Gaspee," June 9, 1772.
 - 5. Local committees of correspondence proposed by Adams, November, 1772.
 - 6. Intercolonial committees proposed by Virginia, March, 1773.
- V. **The Tea Act.**
 - 1. Its provisions and purpose.
 - 2. Response to the act.
 - 3. The Boston "Tea-Party," December 16, 1773.
- VI. **The Five Coercive Acts and the Congress, 1774.**
 - 1. Substance of the acts.
 - 2. The colonies support Massachusetts.
 - 3. The "solemn league and covenant."
 - 4. Work of the congress: the "Association."
- VII. **Services of Samuel Adams.**

STUDIES.

- 1. Significance of the Quebec Act.
- 2. History of the "Sons of Liberty."
- 3. Character and work of the First Continental Congress.
- 4. Justification of the Revolution.
- 5. Galloway's compromise "plan of a proposed union between Great Britain and the colonies."

REFERENCES.

Hosmer, *Samuel Adams* (Boston, 1885); *idem*, "Samuel Adams, the Man of the Town-Meeting," *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, II; Wells, *Samuel Adams* (3 vols., Boston, 1865); Frothingham, *Rise of the Republic*, 200-202; Bancroft, *United States* (ed. 1883), III; Lecky, *England in the Eighteenth Century*, III, chap. xii; Burke, *Speeches on American Taxation and Conciliation*; Woodburn, "Causes of the Revolution," *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, X, 553-

609; Hart, *Formation of the Union*, 37-63; Sloane, *French War and Revolution*, 99 ff.; Ludlow, *War of American Independence*, 64-90; Goldwin Smith, *United States*, 64 ff.; Fiske, *American Revolution*, I, chap. i; Trevelyan, *Revolution*, I, chaps. ii-viii; Chamberlain, "The Revolution Impending," in Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History*, VI, 1-68; Hart, *Contemporaries*, II, 373 ff.; Grahame, *United States*, IV, 246 ff.; Dawson, *Sons of Liberty in New York* (New York, 1859); Collins, "Committees of Correspondence," *Report of American Historical Association* (1901), I, 243-71; Bartlett, *History of the Destruction of the Gaspee* (1861); *idem*, in *Rhode Island Colonial Records*, VII, 57-192; Becker, "Growth of Revolutionary Parties and Methods in New York Province, 1765-1774," *American Historical Review*, VII, 56-76; Coffin, "The Quebec Act," *Report of American Historical Association*, 1894, 273-79; Farrand, "The Taxation of Tea," *American Historical Review*, III, 266-69; Frothingham, "Sam. Adams' Regiments," *Atlantic*, June and August, 1862, and November, 1863; Kidder, *History of the Boston Massacre* (Albany, 1870); Levermore, "Whigs in Colonial New York," *American Historical Review*, I, 238-50; Small, "Beginnings of American Nationality," *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, VIII, 1-77; Winsor, "Virginia and the Quebec Bill," *American Historical Review*, I, 436-43.

LECTURE IV.

JOSEPH GALLOWAY AND THE CASE FOR THE LOYALISTS.

I. What is a Revolution? Progress by Evolution and Revolution Compared.

The cases of conscience forced upon the honest soul by a revolution. The particular case of the American Revolution. Survival of revolutionary prejudice against Great Britain and against the loyalists.

II. The Loyalist Party.

1. Number and distribution.
2. Character of the loyalists.

III. Statement of the Revolutionary Problem: "No Taxation without Representation."


1. Actual state of parliamentary representation under George III.
2. The theory of "virtual" representation: *Mansfield vs. Pitt* (1766).
 - a) Was American taxation legal?
 - b) Was American taxation expedient?
 - c) Was the distinction between "external" and "internal" taxation logical?
 - d) Was colonial representation in Parliament practicable? Views of Otis and Franklin.

IV. The Loyalist Argument as Seen in the Loyalist Literature (Tyler, *op. cit.*, I, 304-402).

1. Martin Howard's *Letter from a Gentleman at Halifax* (Newport, 1765). Fate of Howard.
2. Jonathan Boucher's *View of the Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution* (London, 1797).
 - a) His courage.
 - b) His conservatism typical of the anti-revolutionary sentiment.
3. Samuel Seabury's ("Westchester Farmer's") *Free Thoughts on the Proceedings of the Continental Congress, 1774* (New York, 1774); and his three subsequent pamphlets.
 - a) Comprehensive and effective statement of the loyalist position.
 - b) Persecution of Seabury.
4. Daniel Leonard's *Massachusettensis; or, A Series of Letters* (London, 1776; originally in *Massachusetts Gazette and Post Boy*, 1774-75).
5. Joseph Galloway's *Candid Examination of the Mutual Claims of Great Britain and the Colonies* (New York, 1775).
 - a) Galloway's characteristics.
 - b) United with Franklin in opposition to the proprietary government of Pennsylvania; his *Speech* (Philadelphia, 1764).
 - c) His "Plan of a Proposed Union," etc., introduced in Congress, September 28, 1774; rejected only by a vote of six colonies to five; supported by Duane and Jay; praised by Rutledge. Anticipated present British colonial policy. (Text, in 4 *American Archives*, I, 905, 906; and his *Candid Examination*, 53, 54.)
 - d) Galloway's later life and writings.

V. The Loyalists during and after the War.

STUDIES.

1. The question of the loyalists in the treaty of 1783.
 2. Persecution of the loyalists after the peace.
 3. Was such a plan as that of Galloway practicable at any time after the Stamp Act?
 4. The answer of the revolutionary leaders to the loyalist argument.
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REFERENCES.

Tyler, *Literary History of the American Revolution*, I, 293-400; *idem*, "The Party of the Loyalists in the American Revolution," *American Historical Review*, I, 24-45; Van Tyne, *The Loyalists in the American Revolution* (New York and London, 1902); Sabine, *Loyalists of American Revolution* (2 vols., Boston, 1864); Ryerson, *Loyalists of America* (2d ed., 2 vols., Toronto and Montreal, 1880); Gilbert, "The Connecticut Loyalists," *American Historical Review*, IV, 273-91; Flick, "Loyalism in New York," *Columbia College Studies*, XIV.

LECTURE V.

ROBERT MORRIS, THE FIRST AMERICAN FINANCIER.

A. FINANCES OF THE REVOLUTION, 1775-1781.

I. Administration of the Treasury.

1. By special congressional committees (Bolles, *op. cit.*, I, 10).
2. By standing congressional committees, 1776-81 (Gugeneheimer, *op. cit.*, 127 ff.): the "Commissioners or Board of Treasury," created July 30, 1779, consisting of two members of Congress and three persons not members of Congress.

II. The Struggle for Revenue, 1775-81.

1. Dislike of taxation: Thomas Paine and Pelatiah Webster in favor (Sumner, *op. cit.*, I, 28-30; Bolles, *op. cit.*, I, 191).
2. Requisitions.

III. Currency.

1. Coins in use (Fiske, *Critical Period*, 165, 166, 171, 172; Sumner, *op. cit.*, II, 36, 42 ff.).
2. Paper money.
 - a) Amount issued: dependent on specie in circulation and taxes.
 - b) Forced circulation: "forestalling," "engrossing," and "monopoly" punished; price conventions and price tariffs.
 - c) Counterfeiting.
 - d) Depreciation; as a form of tax; as the "poor man's friend" (Sumner, *op. cit.*, I, 79-82; Bolles, *op. cit.*, I, 177); really produces "social palsy" (Sumner, *op. cit.*, I, 76, 77, 80, 81).
 - e) Forty-for-one Act, March 18, 1780.
3. State paper money; loan-office certificates; "indents;" private tokens.

IV. Specific Supplies; Impressments; Lotteries; Loans.

B. FINANCES OF THE CONFEDERATION.

I. State Affairs, 1781.

1. Financial and administrative demoralization; the despair of Washington (Morse, *Hamilton*, I, 86 ff.; Sumner, *op. cit.*, I, 258, 259).
2. Hence Congress was forced to abandon the committee system and to appoint heads of state departments (Jameson, *Essays*, 116-85).
 - a) Secretary for foreign affairs, January 10, 1780 (R. Livingston chosen).
 - b) Secretary of war, February 7, 1781 (Benjamin Lincoln chosen).
 - c) Secretary for marine, February 7, 1781.
 - d) Superintendent of finance (called the "financier"), February 7, 1781.

II. The Work of Robert Morris as Superintendent of Finance, 1781-1784 (Bolles, *op. cit.*, I, 267-332; Hart, *op. cit.*, 109 ff.).

1. Appointed February 20, 1781; accepted May 14; the two conditions of acceptance (Sumner, *op. cit.*, I, 264-67); his qualifications and previous experience (*ibid.*, 1-4, 261-64); his preparatory work in the Pennsylvania assembly (*ibid.*, 270-73).
2. He finds the revenue consisting chiefly of loan-office and quartermaster's certificates; hence their receipt on taxes stopped, November 12, 1781 (*ibid.*, 272, 273).
3. His plan.
 - a) Economy and retrenchment (*ibid.*, 277 ff.).
 - b) Taxes in specie to pay foreign interest (Bolles, *op. cit.*, I, 270).
 - c) Foreign loans; "anticipations."
 - d) A national bank, etc.
4. His operations.
 - a) Miscellaneous tasks (Sumner, *op. cit.*, I, 277 ff.).
 - b) Negotiations in paper money (*ibid.*, 283).
 - c) "Bill-kiting" (*ibid.*, 282-84, 74, 95, 114, 115).

- d) Circular to the governors (*ibid.*, 284-91).
- e) Provides for Yorktown campaign, etc.
- 5. The Bank of North America, chartered by Congress, May 26, 1781.
 - a) Hamilton's plan (Bancroft, *History*, VI, 25; *idem*, *Constitution*, I, 31, 32; Morse, *Hamilton*, 71 ff.; Bolles, *op. cit.*, I, 273; Lodge, *Hamilton*, 26-30).
 - b) Morris's plan.
 - (1) Capital, \$400,000, to be increased at pleasure (Bancroft, *Constitution*, I, 32; cf. Sumner, *op. cit.*, II, 25).
 - (2) Incorporated "forever," December 31, 1781; question of constitutionality.
 - (3) Slow subscriptions; only \$70,000 by October, 1781.
 - (4) Chartered by Pennsylvania and other states.
 - (5) June, 1782, Morris without authority subscribes \$254,000 of the French subsidy.
 - (6) Benefits.
 - (a) For the Confederation.
 - (b) For private enterprise.
 - (7) Reorganized, 1785; rechartered by Pennsylvania assembly, March 17, 1787, for fourteen years.
- 6. Morris resigns, 1784; and management of finances is again intrusted to a congressional committee, 1784-89 (Bolles, *op. cit.*, I, 333 ff.; Fiske, *op. cit.*, 168).

III. Later Life of Morris.

- 1. His failure in business.
- 2. Was the country ungrateful?

STUDIES.

- 1. The Pennsylvania Bank War of 1785-87.
- 2. Was Robert Morris a martyr?
- 3. History of the Bank of North America.
- 4. Origin of the United States system of coinage.

REFERENCES.

Sumner, *The Financier and the Finances of the American Revolution* (2 vols., New York, 1891); Bolles, *Financial History of the United States* (3 vols., 2d ed., New York, 1884-86), I; Knox, *United States Notes*, 9, 10; Poore, *Money and its Laws*, 429 ff., 461 ff.; Sumner, "The Spanish Dollar and the Colonial Shilling," *American Historical Review*, July, 1898; Sumner, *History of the*